

Knowledge and Power in Indonesian Traditional Music: A Genealogical Approach on the Transformation of the Meaning of Karawitan

*Ji Pyo Chung

Universitas Gadjah Mada

*Corresponding author: jitae.chung@gmail.com

ABSTRACT The term *Karawitan* is generally known to mean gamelan music, more specifically Javanese, Balinese, and Sundanese gamelan music tuned to slendro and pelog scales. However, the term is discursive and has meaning in wider contexts as well. The term *karawitan* first appeared during the colonial period in royal courts on Java to indicate Javanese gamelan music. However, through its nation-wide university *karawitan* programs, the Indonesian government and art academics use the term to refer to all Indonesian traditional music practices (*Musik Nusantara*). This article gives a postcolonial account of the discourse surrounding the term *karawitan* to trace the transformation of its meaning. It employs Michel Foucault's theory of discourse and genealogical research methods to explore colonial-era and post-colonial literature using the term *karawitan*. By reviewing various discourses about *karawitan*, authors provide a more nuanced understanding about how power operates in the context of traditional music in Indonesia. We illustrate how the meaning of "*karawitan*" has been re-defined and contested through discursive practices. In general, these transformations demonstrate a shift from colonial power to national power.

KEYWORDS *Gamelan; Genealogy; Indonesian Traditional Music; Karawitan Knowledge, and Power.*

INTRODUCTION

The traditional Indonesian music of *karawitan* has been widely used, but its meaning is not clear for many people, especially outside Java and Bali. It is in contrast with the term *gamelan* which almost all Indonesian people know. The ambiguity of the meaning of the term *karawitan* is obvious for two reasons. *First*, outside academic fields, people use *karawitan* to refer to Javanese gamelan music or gamelan music in general such as Balinese or Sundanese gamelan music; *second*, especially within academic institutions and art communities in Indonesia, this term is used to mean gamelan music or Indonesian traditional music. Its

most notable usage occurs at national arts institutions, which go by the name Indonesian Music Institute or Institut Seni Indonesia (ISI). *Karawitan* programs at ISI campuses mainly teach gamelan repertoires and performance practices. However, they also teach non-gamelan music and instrumental performance from places other than Java and Bali, such as Makassar and Minangkabau. Through such curricula ISI campuses use the term *karawitan* to mean not only gamelan music but also other Indonesian traditional musics.

In the case of ISI Padangpanjang, the performing arts faculty uses the designation *Seni Karawitan* to distinguish between

Indonesian and Western music focuses. However, unlike other ISI campuses, the *Seni Karawitan* program at ISI Padangpanjang focuses primarily on Sumatran traditional music, with supplemental courses on Javanese, Balinese, and Sundanese gamelan music. These courses are taught by experts from each region. Although the program focuses on Sumatran music, the use of the term *karawitan* shows that its meaning has extended beyond the gamelan music in Java, Bali, and Sunda. Why is this term used to represent non-gamelan Indonesian traditional music practices in arts institutions in Indonesia?

Indonesia as a nation formed in 1945 after liberating itself from Japanese colonization. Prior to Japanese rule, it was a diverse region called the Dutch East Indies, where various ethnic groups were unified under Dutch colonial rule. Therefore, we assume the meaning of *karawitan* expanded through national power, particularly centered around Indonesia's national arts institutions. This points to a discourse surrounding *karawitan* that emerged during the post-colonial period.

According to Foucault, discourses are systems of power that shape the way we perceive, think, and act in society (Foucault, 1980). He related Nietzsche's concept of power with knowledge. Knowledge and power are a complexity that interact, and modern knowledge creates concepts of rationality and stationarity (Foucault 1995). Using this concept, he analyzed how history has been formed through discourse analysis, how power has operated within it, and how history has transformed into power. He revealed how marginalized discourses, such

as those of the mentally ill and criminal population, have been included, excluded, and reduced from the order of discourse. Foucault emphasized that discourse is based on what is already said rather than what is not said in every moment of discourse in its sudden irruption in history (Foucault 1989: 27).

Discourses are born with exclusion, and this exclusion is driven by power, resulting in the suppression of other discourses to the margins of history. Foucault elucidated how this process of exclusion occurred, revealing the forces at play in shaping the current state of existence. In essence, Foucault delved into what kinds of suppressed histories lie beneath the surface of invisible history, developing genealogical methods akin to archaeology. He likened his method to archaeologists digging into the ground to unearth unconscious discourses buried deep within. Foucault thought that history is not continuous but rather fragmented. Therefore, without excavating its underlying aspects, history remains elusive.

By using Foucault's discourse theory to analyze the use of the term *karawitan*, we can provide a more nuanced understanding about how power operates in the context of traditional music in Indonesia. For instance, the way the term *karawitan* is used in academic settings reinforces the authority of institutions such as ISI in defining what constitutes Indonesian traditional music. Moreover, this dominant discourse may be perpetuated through various power structures such as academic institutions, cultural organizations, and government policies. This notion of power is not just repressive, but also productive.

Using Foucault's theory, the authors assume that the term *karawitan*, which extends from the commonly accepted meaning of gamelan music to encompass other Indonesian traditional music, also underwent formation and transformation at a specific historical point. It embraces genealogy as a research method to analyze how specific assumptions have been rooted in specific political and social agendas. Saukko (2003) suggested two approaches of genealogy: (1) a historical approach and (2) analyzing the connections between different discourses (Saukko 2003: 133-134). Therefore, this article focuses on describing discourses of the term *karawitan* in historical contexts to understand how the use of the term *karawitan* contributes to the production and maintenance of a dominant discourse surrounding traditional music in Indonesia. Using the genealogical method, this study will initially analyze the origins of the term *karawitan*, which first appeared during the colonial era, to uncover the inherent meanings within its origins and the discourse surrounding it. Additionally, the authors will analyze the meaning of *karawitan* as defined by contemporary researchers to discern the transitions and connections within *karawitan* discourses.

DISCUSSION

The Origin of The Term *Karawitan*

According to much literature about *karawitan*, the term originates from the adjective *rawit* in the Javanese language. With the prefix 'ke-' or 'ka-' and suffix '-an' (*ke/ka+rawit+an*), *rawit* then becomes the noun *karawitan* (Palgunadi 2002: 6-7). Generally,

the prefix *ke-* is used in the Indonesian language and *ka-* in the Javanese language, therefore we can determine that the term *karawitan* originates from Java. The meaning of the root *rawit* is expressed differently by various scholars, as seen below:

Table 1.
Meanings of *Rawit* in Current Research

Author	Origin of term <i>Karawitan</i>	Meaning of <i>Rawit</i>
Sutton (1991: 5)	<i>Rawit</i>	<i>Intricate</i>
Daryanto (1998: 5)	<i>Rawit</i>	<i>halus, lembut, lungit, rumit</i>
Palgunadi (2002: 6-7)	<i>Rawit</i>	<i>bagian kecil, potongan kecil, renik, rinci, halus, indah</i>
Supanggah (2002: 5)	<i>Rawit</i>	<i>Kecil, halus, rumit</i>
Pickvance (2005: 2)	<i>Rawit</i>	Refined, perfect
Endraswara (2008: 23)	<i>Rawit</i>	<i>Halus, lembut, lungit, remit, kecil, potongan kecil, renik, rinci, indah</i>
Sukerta (2009: 32)	<i>Rawit</i>	<i>Kecil, halus, rumit.</i>
Bandem (2013: 1)	<i>Rawit</i>	<i>Halus, indah.</i>

According to these data, the lexical root of the term *karawitan* is *rawit*, which includes several meanings.

Sumarsam (1995) proposed *Serat Gulang Yarya* (1870) by Tondhakusuma as evidence that the term *karawitan* was already used in the late nineteenth century (Sumarsam 1995: 125). An older manuscript using the term *karawitan* is *Serat Centhini* (1814) however, we are not sure whether this is the oldest mentioning of the term. It might be found in other old texts that were written by Europeans, especially Dutch colonials, however we have not found any manuscripts that describe the meaning of

the term *karawitan*. Nonetheless, colonial-era literature provides important clues about how the term was used in royal courts

in Central Java. Soetrisno gives a very clear example within the text of *Pupuh Asmaradana* (1877) in his book *Sejarah Karawitan* (1976).

Table 2.
A Part of *Pupuh Asmaradana* (1877) (Soetrisno 1976)

A Part of <i>Pupuh Asmaradana</i> (1877)	Bahasa Indonesia Translation	English Translation
<i>gêndhèng-gêndhinge ginanti, sinêlan sêndhon sindhenan, irama lêmês êmbate nyêndari ande asmara mring sanggya kang miyarsa ringgit tumènggèng raras rum rumêrês ing karawitan</i>	<i>Gending-gending yang bergantian, berisikan lirik dari nyanyian, irama yang halus mengikuti irama lagu, Seperti sendaren (pita yang ada di layang-layang yang dapat mengeluarkan sebuah bunyi) yang menjelaskan makna cinta, Kepada semua yang sedang menyaksikan, Sebuah pertunjukan wayang yang indah sekali, Dengan iringan karawitan yang menyayat hati</i>	<i>Gending that keep shifting filled with lyrics and singing, soft irama flowing with sweet melodies like a sendaren that tells the story of love, For everyone who watches, a beautiful wayang performance accompanied by heart-wrenching karawitan</i>

In this poem, there is no explanation or definition of *karawitan*, however, we can deduce its meaning from Table 2. In this text, *gêndhèng* means melody. However, the music that accompanies Wayang is not *gêndhèng* but *karawitan*. Therefore, we can determine that during the colonial period,

the term *karawitan* meant Javanese gamelan music. However, according to *Sejarah Karawitan*, the term *gending* makes its earliest appearance in literature dating four centuries ago, whereas the term *gamelan* first appears in literature twelve centuries ago.

Table 3.
Documentation of the Term Gamelan in *Sejarah Karawitan* (Soetrisno 1976)

Term	Year	Literature
Gamel	1157	Bharata Yuddha
	1428	Kunjarakarna
Gamelan	14 Century	Panji Kuda Narawangsa
	14 Century	Geguritan Sewagati
	15 Century	Sorakanda
	16 Century	Kidung Harsawijaya
	16 Century	Kidung Pamanoangah
	16 Century	Sri Tanjung
	16 Century	Serat Kanda
	17 Century	Hikayat Galuh Digantung
	18 Century	Malat
	1814	Serat Centhini
	19 Century	Bagus Turunan
	1875	Babad Serenan
	1877	Pupuh Asmaradana

In Table 3, we observe that (1) the term gamelan existed in Java and Bali before the colonial era whereas the term *karawitan* did not exist; (2) the term *karawitan* first appeared during the colonial period in the Javanese court (Mataram kingdom); (3) the term *karawitan* had been used to represent gamelan music in the Mataram court. This allows us to analyze colonial and postcolonial contexts, including how the term *karawitan* suddenly appeared during the colonial era and its meaning has expanded in Indonesia since.

Karawitan as Fine Art

It was earlier mentioned that the term *karawitan* arose out of the relationship between the Dutch colonists and Javanese elites during the colonial era. We can see this effect from the derivation “*rawit*” from *karawitan*. Observing Table 1 again, it emerges that the meaning of *rawit* is very similar to the meaning of “fine”. In the Cambridge Dictionary, fine means as data in Table 4:

Table 4.

Definitions of “Fine” in Cambridge Dictionary

Grammar	Meaning
After verb	<i>Good, healthy, well.</i>
Adjective (excellent)	<i>Excellent.</i>
Adjective (thin)	<i>Thin, in very small pieces or drops.</i>
Adjective (Exact)	<i>Very exact, delicate, need to be done, treated, considered very carefully.</i>

Table 5.

Comparing Meanings of “Fine” and “*Rawit*” based on Table 1. and Table 4.

Meaning of “Fine”	Meaning of “ <i>Rawit</i> ” in Indonesian Language
Delicate	<i>Halus, lembut</i>
Intricately skillful	<i>Rumit</i>
Beauty	<i>Indah</i>
Good, Excellent	<i>Lembut</i>

Meaning of “Fine”	Meaning of “ <i>Rawit</i> ” in Indonesian Language
Thin	<i>Renik</i>
Very small piece or drops	<i>Bagian kecil, potongan kecil, kecil</i>
Very exact	<i>Rinci</i>

Why is the concept of “fine” more prevalent than others? Our argument with these data is that *karawitan* represents a concept of fine art or high art. The Etymology Dictionary offers more specific clues about the concept of fine art in Western history:

In the middle of the thirteenth century, fine means unblemished, refined, pure, free of impurities, and also of high-quality choice. From old French *fin* means perfected, of highest quality...In French, the main meaning remains “delicate, intricately skillful. In English since the thirteenth century, fine has been also a general broad expression of admiration or approval, the equivalent of French *beau* (as in fine arts, “those which appeal to the mind and the imagination”, 1767, translating French *beaux-arts*) ...Fine print is from 1861 as “type small and close-set”.

In the Etymology Dictionary, we see some keywords related to fine arts such as high quality, delicate, intricately skillful. Clowney (2011) referenced several researchers’ arguments that the term fine art appears in the eighteenth-century in the West (Clowney 2011: 309). Clowney argues that during the eighteenth-century various terms emerged such as ‘beautiful arts (*beaux arts*)’, ‘fine arts’, ‘elegant arts’, and ‘polite arts’ (Clowney 2011: 312). From these, we may infer that the concept of fine art is related to high culture. Clowney also states its relationship to class structure:

...the social interests of the rising middle class. It served their interests and their need for “distinction” from the working classes on the one hand, and the “luxurious” aristocracy on the other (Clowney 2011: 315).

He argues that the problem of taste lies within one’s class or status. This is the ideology of economic and class structures of modern society. In this context, he mentions the emergence of fine art development of the institutions, practices, and structures of the modern system of the arts (Clowney 2011: 312). In addition, Taruskin (2015) also mentions that fine arts are always connected to elite patronage. Here, we emphasize that the concept of fine art music derives from the West, and that highly artistic music relates to high culture in contrast with folk music.

Karawitan can be considered a form of fine art because it originated in the royal courts of Java, where it was developed and

refined over centuries as a form of courtly entertainment and cultural expression. The Javanese court tradition emphasized the importance of refined artistic expression in all aspects of life, and music was no exception. The court musicians and dancers were highly trained and skilled in their craft, and their performances were intended to showcase the aesthetic sensibilities and cultural sophistication of the court under Dutch colonial patronage.

Current Definitions of *Karawitan*

According to the data above, we observe that *karawitan* was synonymous with Javanese gamelan music, especially in the Javanese court, and connoted fine art or high art. However, the more recent meaning of *karawitan* seems quite different from the old meaning of *karawitan*. These are current definitions of *karawitan*:

Table 6.
Definitions of *karawitan* in several literature and interview sources.

Author (Year: page)	Definition of <i>Karawitan</i> (In Bahasa Indonesia)	Definition of <i>Karawitan</i> (In English)
Koesoemadinata (1969: 3)	<i>Seni-Raras.</i>	Musical Art
Aryasa (1976/1977: 2)	<i>Musik tradisi daerah di Indonesia yang memakai laras selendro dan laras pelog.</i>	Regional Musical tradition of Indonesia using <i>selendro</i> and <i>pelog</i> tuning systems.
Sindoesawarno (1984: 391)		Art of music –vocal, instrumental, or the two together.
Sumarsam (1991: 31)	<i>Karawitan = istilah lain dari gamelan dan seni suara yang berhubungan dengannya.</i>	Another term referring gamelan and sound of art that connected.
Sutton (1991: 5)		Traditional gamelan music.
Supanggih (1995: 61)		- A form of traditional music which uses gamelan instruments or the <i>slendro</i> and <i>pelog</i> tuning systems. - Traditional Indonesian music.
Daryanto (1998: 5)	- <i>Musik tradisional atau musik daerah yang terdiri dari berbagai macam “Ricikan” gamelan.</i> - <i>Kehalusan rasa yang diwujudkan dengan suara gamelan.</i>	- Traditional music or regional music consisting of various kinds of gamelan <i>Ricikan</i> . - Manifesting refined taste through sound of gamelan.

Lanjutan tabel 6

Author (Year: page)	Definition of <i>Karawitan</i> (In Bahasa Indonesia)	Definition of <i>Karawitan</i> (In English)
Supanggih (2002: 5-12)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Musik gamelan atau musik Gong.</i> (Makna karawitan menjadi semakin meluas) 1. Menggunakan alat musik gamelan: sebagian atau seluruhnya -baik berlaras slendro atau pelog atau laras lain- sebagian atau semuanya. 2. Menggunakan laras (tangga nada) slendro dan/atau pelog, baik instrumental -gamelan atau non-gamelan- maupun vokal atau campuran dari keduanya. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Gamelan music or Gong music (Meaning of <i>karawitan</i> being wide) 1. Using gamelan instruments: partially or completely -either in <i>slendro</i> or <i>pelog</i> scales or other laras 2. Using <i>slendro</i> and/or <i>pelog</i>, both instrumental -gamelan or non-gamelan- also vocal or mixture of both.
Palgunadi (2002: 1-7)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Seni memainkan alat musik tradisional masyarakat suku bangsa Jawa.</i> - <i>Bentuk permainan alat musik tradisional.</i> - <i>Bentuk seni musik tradisional.</i> - <i>Secara umum ada juga yang mengartikannya sebagai musik tradisional Indonesia.</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The art of playing Javanese traditional musical instruments. - Form of playing traditional musical instruments. - Traditional musical art form. - In general, it is interpreted as Indonesian traditional music.
Pickvance (2005: 2)		The classical music of central Java. The term <i>karawitan</i> , widely used only since the mid-twentieth century... it must use one of both of the characteristic tuning systems <i>slendro</i> and <i>pelog</i> , neither of which corresponds to any Western scale.
Endraswara (2008: 24-25)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Secara umum: Musik Jawa tradisional, dalam arti khusus adalah seni suara vokal, yang dikemas dengan instrumentalia yang berlaras slendro dan pelog.</i> - <i>Secara khusus: Seni suara yang menggunakan gamelan laras slendro dan laras pelog.</i> - <i>Karawitan vokal: suara manusia.</i> - <i>Karawitan instrumental: suara instrumen gamelan.</i> - <i>Sebuah garapan manis antara vokal dan gamelan sehingga memrentuk alunan suara yang indah dan nikmat.</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In general: Javanese traditional music, in a special sense, is the art of vocal sound, which is accompanied by instruments that are tuned with slendro and pelog. - In particular: Sound art that uses gamelan <i>slendro</i> and <i>pelog</i>. - Vocal <i>karawitan</i>: human voice. - Instrumental <i>karawitan</i>: the sound of gamelan instruments. - A good music between vocals and gamelan so as to form a beautiful and enjoyable sound.
Tenzer (2011: 174)		A general term for the art of gamelan and gamelan music.
Dibia (2012: 101)	<i>Seni musik.</i>	Musical art.
Bandem (2013: 1)	<i>Musik tradisional Bali.</i>	Balinese traditional music.
Rusdiyantoro (Interview in 2021)	<i>"Definisi karawitan yang paling singkat, karawitan adalah musik. Lebih spesifiknya, musik itu kan seni suara. Jadi, karawitan adalah seni suara yang menggunakan tangga nada slendro atau pelog dan menggunakan seperangkat gamelan"</i>	<i>"The simplest definition of karawitan is music. More specifically, music is the art of sound. So, karawitan is a sound art that uses slendro or pelog scales and uses a set of gamelan"</i>

The data in Table 6 is entirely discursive. The concept of gamelan music remains the most dominant definition today. Notable here is indeed that *karawitan* is formalized through concepts of art and traditional music. The meaning not only represents Javanese gamelan music, but other gamelan music such as Balinese gamelan, even expanding to include artistic music.

Koesoemadinata (1969) defined *karawitan* as *seni raras*, translated it into English as “musical art” and “music,” based on *pelog* and *slendro* scales (Koesoemadinata 1969: 3-5). In this text, the meaning of *seni raras* is ambiguous because it is *karawitan* and art music. However, Koesoemadinata represents Western music with the term “*musik barat*” (western music). This illustrates the formalization of *karawitan* as musical art. In other words, *karawitan* becomes an object of musicology. This transition draws a connection between the term *karawitan* and a Western musicological concept.

Sumarsam (1991) argues that the influence of Western music in Indonesia has occurred through education. He said perhaps it is the result of the more vigorous introduction of Western music through schools, private courses, and music for films, especially among Javanese students and scholars in big cities. This shows that music is an art object in Indonesian society. For instance, music programs are called “*seni musik* (musical art)” in public schools. These courses teach music from the Indonesian archipelago alongside Western music. This represents the formalization of ethnic music traditions in Indonesia, including *karawitan*.

On the other hand, modernization has also naturally contributed to the formalization of *karawitan* as traditional music. Some definitions of *karawitan* (see Table 6) imply that concepts of traditionalism are conjoined with music. Sumarsam mentions that concepts of tradition have been used in *karawitan* because *karawitan* has been developing for more than one hundred years (Sumarsam 1995: 125). However, this concept of “traditional music” dominates not only the identity of *karawitan* but also language. In Bahasa Indonesia “*musik*” and “*tradisional*” are each from English. This means the definition of *karawitan* is constructed with language concepts from the West. The term “music” represents Western music or generally all other music in the world, therefore *karawitan* is classified as Indonesian traditional music. It manufactures an image of *karawitan* as classic or old. Harnish (2005) provides the example that the Balinese language also does not have the terms as *musik* (music), *seni* (art), or *tradisional* (traditional) (Harnish 2005: 108-109). He argues that modernization created the concept of *tradisional* (Harnish 2005: 120).

As we saw in data from colonial-era literature (See Table 2), the term *karawitan* obviously appeared in Javanese courts, and the concept of traditional appeared in contrast with the concept of modern (See Table 6). This means the concept of traditional did not develop from *karawitan* itself. Therefore, we argue that the concept of traditional music is a modern concept resulting from specific phenomena. It is an ideology from the hegemony of modern knowledge and music classification from the West.

Questions about the term Gamelan

As we see above, the most dominant definition of *karawitan* is gamelan music. As shown in Table 6, the definition of *karawitan* no longer refers only to Javanese gamelan music. Except for Supanggah and Dibia, who defined *karawitan* as music practices that include non-gamelan music, all other contemporary sources defined *karawitan* as gamelan music. Most definitions usually limit gamelan music to those with *slendro* and *pelog* tuning systems, and Supanggah and Endraswara even include vocal music. A noteworthy point here is the definition by Supanggah (2002), who said that the meaning of *karawitan* is gradually expanding.

This brings into question the definition of gamelan. Generally, we associate it with a set of different bronze instruments and possibly some other ensembles in Indonesia. However, these other ensembles are not always referred to as gamelan. In Bali, they may be called other names such as *gong*, *gambelan*, *barungan* or other specific ensemble designations. This term gamelan is also quite vague like the term *karawitan* because the signifiers and signified are not stable. Currently, even *talempong* is also referred to as gamelan Minangkabau. Becker

(1993) argues that the term gamelan refers to the full modern court ensemble in Central Java which includes singing and stringed instruments, and dates no further back than the early nineteenth century (Becker 1993: 31). She also refers to Kunst's idea that the gamelan ensembles of Central Java did not exist until the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries. The object of signification of the term gamelan has changed.

From Table 3, we can infer that the term gamelan had been used in 12 Century. However, we do not know whether the term gamelan designates modern gamelan ensemble forms. This suggests the term gamelan had been used in Java before the Majapahit kingdom and also used in Bali during the Majapahit era. The appearance of the term gamelan in Bali might have been through the influence of the Majapahit kingdom that extended its power to the island of Bali. This cumulative evidence shows that the signifier "gamelan" and various signified ensembles in Java and Bali acted as symbol pairs during the pre-colonial period. However, the signification of gamelan in the post-colonial era is also quite different from before the colonial period. Table 7 shows some current definitions of gamelan from several scholars:

Table 7.
Definitions of Gamelan in Current Researches (1976-2018)

Author (Year: page)	Definition of Gamelan (In Bahasa Indonesia)	Definition of Gamelan (In English)
Aryasa (1976/1977: 27)	<i>Gambelan (Bali) adalah alat-alat karawitan (instrumental) yang kesatuannya (barangannya) cukup banyak ada di Bali.</i>	Gambelan (Bali) is <i>karawitan</i> instrument that sets are quite a lot in Bali.
Purbodiningrat (1987: 235)		Gamelan is a type of instrumental ensemble found in Indonesia.
Becker (1993: 31)		The term gamelan as meaning an ensemble of bronze gongs and drums is relatively recent, and the full modern Central Javanese court ensemble including singers and stringed instruments.

Lanjutan tabel 7

Author (Year: page)	Definition of Gamelan (In Bahasa Indonesia)	Definition of Gamelan (In English)
Miller & Liberman (1999: 146)		Orchestra: an ensemble comprising primarily pitched percussion.
Palgunadi (2002: 1)	<i>Alat-alat musik tradisional di Jawa.</i>	Traditional instruments in Java.
Supanggih (2002: 5)	<i>Alat musik Karawitan.</i>	<i>Karawitan</i> musical instruments.
Spiller (2008: xvii)		- One bronze percussion orchestra. - Many bronze percussion orchestra.
Tenzer (2011: 172)		Set of instruments; orchestra.
Dibia (2012: 106)	<i>Instrumen karawitan.</i>	<i>Karawitan</i> instruments
Bandem (2013: 1)	<i>Sebuah orkestra yang terdiri dari bermacam-macam instrumen yang terbuat dari batu, kayu, bambu, besi, perunggu, kulit, dan lain-lainnya dengan menggunakan laras pelog dan slendro.</i>	An orchestra consisting of various instruments that made by stone, wood, bamboo, iron, bronze, leather, and others, using pelog and slendro scales.
HS & Merta (2018: xii)	<i>Sekumpulan jenis dan bentuk instrumen yang menyatu dalam kesatuan.</i>	A set of different types and forms of instruments that combined in one.

The definitions here represent our general concepts of gamelan. Some definitions point to specific gamelan types because they are from specific books about Javanese gamelan or Balinese gamelan. The definitions of gamelan above are also discursive as definitions of *karawitan* in Table 6. Some points are limited to *slendro* and *pelog* scales or have more open definitions like the use of *karawitan* instruments. The meanings of *karawitan* and gamelan are more parallel in current definitions.

HS and Merta in their book *Peta dan Arkeologi Gamelan Nusantara* (2018), problematized the general use of the term gamelan. They mentioned gamelan is not only Javanese, Balinese and Sundanese anymore, but archaeologically categorize some instrument sets such as those from Flores, Makassar, Banjar, Riau, Banyumas, and Sragen. They also provide the example of Festival Gamelan Yogyakarta, where not only Javanese,

Balinese, Sundanese gamelan appear, but also other traditional instruments from Indonesia (HS and Merta 2018: XII-XIII). We argue this phenomenon has resulted from the establishment of the post-colonial nation which needed to establish a new identity for all its traditional music and instruments.

Colonial and Postcolonial Agendas' Impact on Discourses of the term *Karawitan*

In the book *Gamelan: cultural interaction and musical development in central Java* (1995), Sumarsam accounts for the postcolonial discourse about *karawitan* and the nationalistic power relationships in Indonesia by analyzing literature and his own experiences.

He provided valuable data and analysis about the formalization and homogenization of *karawitan* within the power of the West, the symbolic power of Javanese nationalists in Indonesia, and the power of

academic institutions in Indonesia in the transformation of *karawitan*'s definition.

The Mataram Sultanate was officially divided into Mangkubumi and Pakubuwono through the Treaty of Giyanti in 1755 under Dutch power (Kartomi 1990: 17). During colonial times in Java, Dutch colonizers, sultans, and aristocrats kept close relationships and dominated Java. At this time the Dutch influenced the development of art, education, and the performing arts. Also, this interaction between the Dutch and Javanese influenced the theory of gamelan music (Sumarsam 1995: 11). One example of Western music influence is the development of a notation system. The oral tradition of Javanese gamelan has transformed into a notated tradition that has been handed down until now. This notation was influenced by the development of music in European history, and Javanese musicians accepted it and developed it within their system (Becker 1980a: 25). Hill (2001) also mentions how the influence of musical notation is the most significant change in the practice of gamelan (Hill 2001: 25). This is just one aspect of the many influences of Western culture in Java. However, it is significant because Western musical influence directly changed the Javanese music paradigm, especially in the royal court.

During the colonial period in Indonesia, the term *karawitan* was not popular yet (Sumarsam 1995: 125). It was only used in Javanese courts, which means this term was used as part of high-class culture. The Dutch and Dutch-educated Javanese elites considered gamelan as a high art (Sumarsam 1995: 120). This implication was constructed in the interaction between the Dutch and the Javanese court and represents their

relationship during the colonial period. As Rizzo (2020) mentioned, these Javanese elites were also exposed to European classical music during colonial times (Rizzo 2020: 6). According to this relationship between Dutch and Javanese elites, cultural exchange was inevitable, and Javanese elites accepted the Western classical music concept as a high art or fine art. *Karawitan* was formalized through the musical art concept in Western music by colonialism.

Sumarsam also explains some cases of Javanese nationalists' agendas of *karawitan*. Tjipto Mangoenkoesoemo (1886-1943) who was a political mentor of Soekarno, used wayang as a political medium, and affected the ideas and activities of the nationalists. Dewantara (1889-1959), who established Taman Siswa in Yogyakarta in 1922, stimulated nationalist sentiments in resistance to Dutch colonial powers and strove to keep the function of gamelan and dance for society in modern Java (Sumarsam 1995: 115-116). The curriculum of Taman Siswa at this moment was Javanese gamelan, dance, language, literature, and history (Becker 1980b: 33). We refer Dewantara's statement quoted in Sumarsam's book (1995):

At this period, it is very important that cultural experts pay attention to the instruction in gamelan for youth...because the form of Javanese *gendhing* is indeed beautiful and dignified, appropriate to be the apparel of a superior nation. Besides this, the feeling of having an art which is *adi luhur* may create study and pure national feelings (Sumarsam 1995: 117).

In this statement, we learn that (1) the term *karawitan* is not only used for the Javanese court but for the public; (2) *karawitan* was regarded as a medium for cultural resistance

to Dutch power by nationalists; (3) *karawitan* was formalized as a musical art.

In the twentieth century, it seems *karawitan* was used as an Ideological State Apparatus (ISA) of ethnic nationalism in academic institutions. After Independence from colonial rule, Indonesian art institutions like ISI embraced the term *karawitan* to connect their curriculum to the nationalist agenda. Until now, *karawitan* is considered a nationalistic art form. The homogenization of *karawitan* arose prominently from the academic institution at Konservatori Karawitan Indonesia (KOKAR).

The first establishment of KOKAR was in Surakarta (now SMKN 8 Surakarta) in 1950, and the first directors of KOKAR were prince Soerjohamidjojo and Djojokoesoemo from Surakarta who were educated by the Dutch (Sumarsam 1995: 124). Since this institutional system began, gamelan music has followed national curriculums (Hand 2018: 74). Sumarsam experienced this institution as a student and lecturer at KOKAR Surakarta. He mentioned that before KOKAR and ASKI (Akademi Seni Karawitan Indonesia), the term *karawitan* was not popular yet. In addition, Sukerta (2009) states his own experience about the first time the term *karawitan* was used in the academic institution in Bali. It began when I Nyoman Rembang started to teach at KOKAR Bali in Denpasar after he moved from KOKAR Surakarta in 1964. At that time the term *karawitan* was still unfamiliar within Balinese society (Sukerta 2009: 33). As seen from this fact, educational institutions in Indonesia homogenized Balinese gamelan music after its colonial independence. This last clue can be seen in the establishment and integration of ISI.

In 1950, the Ministry of Education and Culture in Indonesia formed KOKAR Surakarta under the law No. 554/K/3-b. At this moment, the minister of education and culture was Ki Sarmidi Mangunsarkoro from Surakarta. In 1953, he mentioned that he hoped for the creation of an Indonesian national music style by artists trained at KOKAR (Sumarsam 1995: 123). This statement represents an Indonesian government policy to forge a new identity for Indonesian national music through *karawitan*.

In its early stages, there were two programs, *karawitan*, and *karawitan* education. In Sumarsam's experience as a student and teacher at KOKAR Surakarta (1961-1972), he mentioned that the program at KOKAR Surakarta focused on Javanese gamelan with additional classes in Sundanese gamelan, Balinese gamelan, and Western music theory. Also, the teachers were court musicians of Java and alumni of KOKAR (Sumarsam 1995: 123-124). It makes sense that Surakartan court musicians would not be able to teach music styles from other parts of Indonesia. Sumarsam also states he has never seen any discussion about making a music curriculum for styles from other regions. According to this, using the term *karawitan* for national music institutions was a natural process because both the first directors and teachers, who had already participated in the development of the education system at KOKAR Surakarta, and the prime minister of culture and education were from Surakarta. However, the importance of KOKAR is how its curriculum helped formalize the concept of *karawitan* as an object of art music. The nationalist institution caused

the homogenization of these music styles as representative of the entire country.

After KOKAR, the names of institutions continued to represent the formalization of art. ASKI Surakarta, ASKI Padang Panjang, ASTI Denpasar, KORI Bandung were homogenized as STSI; and ASRI, AMI, ASTI in Yogyakarta were homogenized as ISI. After that three STSI in Surakarta, Padangpanjang and Denpasar were integrated as ISI, and STSI Bandung was integrated as ISBI Bandung. Therefore, we see that the subjectivity of *karawitan* is no longer an individual identity marker but a formalized art form that homogenized other gamelans or other ethnic music in Indonesia. These institutions were then homogenized under the nationalist power of the Indonesian government.

ISIs are synthetic art institutions which follow the form of western art institutions and use general classifications such as music, dance, theater, media art, and fine art, for their education programs. *Karawitan* programs show the conspicuous influence of the anthropology of art, sociology of art, performing arts management, the communication of art, acoustics, organology, and research methods. These processes of homogenization and formalization of art institutions is symbolic because it decontextualizes art practices from all over Indonesia and formalizes and homogenizes them again as *karawitan*. For instance, the music from Minangkabau does not use/have gamelan instruments, and its musical structure does not resemble the *slendro/pelog* gamelan music in Java or Bali. ISI Padangpanjang teaches the music of Minangkabau in its *karawitan* program. Some people even refer to *talempong* as

Minangkabau gamelan. This is another level of homogenization of *karawitan* because *talempong* or other instruments of Minangkabau and their music do not fit with general definitions of gamelan or older meanings of *karawitan*.

CONCLUSION

This article illustrates changes in the meaning of the term *karawitan* through discursive research using some pre-colonial and colonial-era literature, and literature from academic institutions. The meaning of the term *karawitan* has not been fixed but has been re-produced and contested through discursive practices. In this article, we have highlighted that the formalization of *karawitan* was influenced by colonial knowledge and power through concepts of fine art or high art and homogenization by nationalist movements through academic institutions in Indonesia. These two forms acted in parallel and have developed and persisted in Indonesian institutions supported by government policy.

The transformation in the discourse of *karawitan* has demonstrated a shift from colonial power to national power, resulting in a transformation of associated knowledge. Within these fragmented historical discontinuities, the significance of *karawitan* remains dominant as gamelan music; however, it has evolved beyond Javanese gamelan to encompass various other Indonesian traditional music forms, thereby becoming homogenized into Indonesian traditional music. Its meaning has been progressively expanding, particularly centered around artistic institutions in Indonesia. However, the musical concept of

traditional music reveals the reproduction of colonial discourse through Western-style education systems and musicological knowledge.

The transformation of the discourse around karawitan can serve as a good example for exploring/constructing Indonesian cultural identity in the post-colonial era. Currently, modern music influenced by gamelan, such as that of Campur sari, Gambang Kromong and others, also falls within the scope of karawitan, and karawitan is taught in various schools and universities.

A significant case is Karawitan Performance for Children in Indonesia (Konser Karawitan Anak Indonesia) which is organized by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology (Kemendikbud) in Indonesia. Children from provinces all around Indonesia participated with their traditional music. Here, not only Gamelan-influenced music but also other traditional music forms like Dol from Bengkulu or Papuan traditional music took part. Ex-Director of Art, Restu Gunawan mentioned in Karawitan Performance for Children in 2019, "Karawitan here is not just gamelan, but its meaning is broader as an equivalent of ethnic music or traditional music. And we also hope for the school's initiative to develop karawitan. We really look forward to it." Meanwhile, the current discourse on *karawitan* shows that a new identity is consistently being reproduced by the Indonesian government.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aryasa, I. (1976/1977). *Perkembangan Seni Karawitan Bali*. Denpasar: Proyek Sasana Budaya Bali.
- Bandem, I. M. (2013). *Gamelan Bali di atas Panggung Sejarah*. Denpasar: Stikom Bali.
- Becker, J. (1980a). From Oral to Written Tradition in Javanese Music. In J. Becker (Ed.), *Traditional Music in Modern Java: Gamelan in a Changing Society* (pp. 11-25). Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Becker, J. (1980b). Western Influence in Gamelan Music. In J. Becker (Ed.), *Traditional Music in Modern Java: Gamelan in a Changing Society* (pp. 66-77). Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Becker, J. (1993). *Gamelan Stories: Tantrism, Islam, and Aesthetics in Central Java*. Arizona: Arizona State University.
- Clowney, D. (2011). Definitions of Art and Fine Art's Historical Origins. *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 69(3), 309-320.
- Daryanto, S. (1998). *Pengantar Karawitan dan Kumpulan Gending*. Surakarta: Pustaka Ammur.
- Dibia, I. W. (2012). *Geliat Seni Pertunjukan Bali*. Denpasar: Arti Foundation.
- Endraswara, S. (2008). *Laras Manis Tuntunan Praktis Karawitan Jawa*. Yogyakarta: Kultul.
- Foucault, M. (1989). *Archeology of knowledge*. New York: Routledge.
- Foucault, M. (1995). *Discipline and Punish*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/Knowledge*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Hand, R. (2018). Schools and Families as Institutions of Learning in Central Javanese Gamelan. *Ethnomusicology Forum*, 27(1), 68-87.
- Harnish, D. (2005). Teletubbies in Paradise: Tourism, Indonesianisation and Modernisation in Balinese Music. *Yearbook for Traditional Music*, 37, 103-123.
- Hill, D. (2001). The Practice and Social Evolution of The Javanese Gamelan: evolution and continuity. *Contemporary Theatre Review*, 11(1), 19-27.
- HS and Merta, D. (2018). *Peta dan Arkeologi Gamelan Nusantara*. Yogyakarta: Gading.

- Kartomi, M. J. (1990). Music in Nineteenth Century Java: A Precursor to the Twentieth Century. *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 21(1), 1-34.
- Koesoemadinata, R. M. A. (1969). *Ilmu Seni dan Raras*. Djakarta: Pradnja Paramita.
- Miller, L. E., & Lieberman, F. 1999. Lou Harrison and the American Gamelan. *American Music*, 17(2), 146-178.
- Palgunadi, B. (2002). *Serat Kandha Karawitan Jawi*. Bandung: ITB.
- Pickvance, R. (2005). *A Gamelan Manual: a player's guide to the central Javanese gamelan*. United Kingdom: Jaman Mas Books.
- Purbodiningrat, R. T. (1987). Gamelan, In J. Becker & A. H. Feinstein (Eds.), *Karawitan: Source Reading in Javanese Gamelan and Vocal Music*, Vol. 2 (pp. 235-259). Michigan: University of Michigan Press.
- Rizzo, R. (2020). Knowledge Trasmision in Javanese Karawitan: Is It Time for an Ontological Turn?. *Asian Music*, 51(1), 94-117.
- Saukko, P. (2003). *Doing Research in Cultural Studies: An Introduction to Classical and New Methodological Approaches*. London: SAGE Publication.
- Sindoesawarno, K. (1984). Faktor Penting Dalam Karawitan, In J. Becker & A. H. Feinstein (Eds.), *Karawitan: Source Reading in Javanese Gamelan and Vocal Music*. Vol. 1 (pp. 391-405). Michigan: University of Michigan Press.
- Soetrisno, R. (1976). *Sejarah Karawitan*. Surakarta: Akademi Seni Karawitan Indonesia Surakarta.
- Spiller, H. (2008). *Focus: Gamelan Music of Indonesia*. New York: Routledge.
- Sukerta, P. M. (2009). *Gong Kebyar Buleleng: Perubahan dan Keberlanjutan Tradisi Gong Kebyar*. Surakarta: ISI Press Surakarta.
- Sumarsam. (1991). Sejarah Perkembangan Teori Gamelan oleh Penulis-penulis Indonesia. In I. M. Bandem (Ed.), *Seni Pertunjukan Indonesia* (pp. 11-35), Surakarta: Yayasan Masyarakat Musikologi Indonesia.
- Sumarsam. (1995). *Gamelan: Cultural Interaction and Musical Development in Central Java*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Supanggah, R. (1995). Education in Traditional Indonesian Music. *International Forum on Asian Traditional Music and Dance*, Thailand. Chulalongkorn University: 61-69.
- Supanggah, R. (2002). *Bothekan Karawitan 1*. Jakarta: Masyarakat Seni Pertunjukan Indonesia.
- Sutton, R. A. (1991). *Traditions of Gamelan Music in Java: musical pluralism and regional identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University.
- Taruskin, R. (2015). *The Oxford history of Western music*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Tenzer, M. (2011). *Balinese Gamelan Music*. Singapore: Tuttle Publishing.

Interview

Rusdiyantoro, Surakarta, 17th, June, 2021.